

# The Ford Foundation and the Relocation of Argentinian Scholars, 1966-1968

*by Silvia E. Braslavsky*

*Max Planck Institute for Chemical Energy Conversion*



2017 by Silvia E. Braslavsky



On June 28<sup>th</sup>, 1966, the constitutional Argentinian President Arturo Illia was overthrown by a military putsch led by Lt. General Juan Carlos Onganía.<sup>1</sup> The Congress elected in 1963 and all political parties were dissolved. The Rector, the Senate of the University of Buenos Aires (UBA),<sup>2</sup> and the Councils of most of the University Schools severely condemned the putsch, with its implied breakdown of all democratic procedures. On **July 29<sup>th</sup>**, the Universities were put under the direct control of the military Government and their autonomy was curtailed. That evening the Federal Police invaded the School of Exact and Natural Sciences (Facultad de Ciencias Exactas y Naturales, FCEN) of UBA, brutally attacking the professors and students who had gathered and taking hundreds into police stations for several days. Similar invasions were perpetrated in the School of Architecture and in the School of Philosophy and Letters (FFyL)<sup>2</sup> of the UBA. The Dean and Vice-Dean of the FCEN and the Dean of the School of Architecture were beaten. This episode, known as the “Night of the Long Sticks” (*Noche de los bastones largos*, or NBL)<sup>2</sup> has been the object of numerous reports and studies.<sup>3</sup>

Anxious and tense days followed. Many departments (Mathematics, Physics, Geology, Meteorology, Physical and Inorganic Chemistry, Biology, etc.) held meetings in various private houses during the weekend of July 30<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup>, where participants considered which strategies to adopt and collected resignations of UBA positions. By **August 2<sup>nd</sup>**, the resignations started appearing in the newspapers. The first list included the Dean, Vice-Dean and seven full professors of the FCEN, as well as associate professors. It included six department directors and two directors of institutes. The Dean of the School of Architecture was the only non-FCEN scholar. The resignations represented approximately 75% of the full-time academic staff in the FCEN. More than 85% of staff resigned in some departments, including Physics, Inorganic, Analytical and Physical Chemistry (DQIAQF), and the Calculus Institute.<sup>4</sup> In other Schools (prominently Architecture, FFyL<sup>2</sup>, and Engineering) many professors and assistants also resigned. In Engineering, almost all full-time academics resigned. Full-time employment, including teaching and research with an adequate salary and financial support for instrumentation, was one of the landmarks of modernization

introduced by Dean Rolando García and his supporters in the FCEN in 1957 and was very seldom in schools other than the FCEN. During the week, a total of 1378 resignations were counted from all Faculties (Schools) of the University of Buenos Aires.

The idea of entire research groups leaving the country and, if possible, moving to other Latin American countries, emerged early on. The resigning Dean of FCEN, the meteorologist Rolando García (R.G.), presented this idea in the meetings after the NBL, as we know from 2015 interviews with many of those who resigned.

The Ford Foundation (FF)<sup>2</sup> together with geologist Arístides Romero (FCEN Secretary), chemists Rodolfo Busch and Leo Becka, mathematician Manuel Sadosky, chemist and mathematician Oscar Varsavsky (O.V.), and former FCEN Secretary Julio Simón played a crucial role in the arrangements, organization, and financing of the transfer of FCEN research groups to, for the most part, Chile, Venezuela and Peru. Enrique Oteiza (Di Tella Institute), Gilda Romero Brest (G.R.B., Department of Education, FFyL)<sup>2</sup> and architect Jorge E. Hardoy helped to arrange the relocation of scholars in other disciplines. The archival material collected in the Rockefeller Archive Center<sup>5</sup> provides information about largely unknown (and kept relatively secret) aspects of the events leading to the emigration of more than 300 academic staff and young graduate students and the internal relocation in Argentina of many others, as well as the role of the FF and its officers. This report outlines:

1. The rescue of Argentine scientists by helping transfer research groups to other Latin American Countries
2. FF support to graduate students left without mentoring to travel to the USA and to some post-doctoral fellows
3. The financial support of Argentinian scientists remaining in Argentina in institutions other than the University of Buenos Aires

4. The secret surrounding the FF “rescue operation”
5. Conclusions

## The rescue of Argentine scientists by helping transfer research groups to other Latin American Countries

The chronology of events after the violent night of July 29<sup>th</sup> helps to clarify the rescue process, as well as the connections and networks that shaped it.

Already on **August 2<sup>nd</sup>**, Nita Rous-Manitzas (the FF assistant representative in Buenos Aires) sent a cable to John Nagel<sup>6</sup> (Senior FF officer in New York at the time) asking for help to relocate junior and senior researchers resigning from UBA to other Latin American Countries.<sup>7,8</sup>

On **August 4<sup>th</sup>**, in a memorandum sent to FF Vice-President David Bell, Nagel proposed a stepwise “rescue operation”,<sup>9</sup> including consultation with the USA Embassy in Buenos Aires and the Argentinian Foreign Affairs Minister.<sup>10</sup> Nagel proposed that Ford create a special Foundation administered Project (FAP) with \$500,000 for the rescue operation. The recently created Latin American Studies Association (LASA) proposed that US scholars visit Argentina to assess the situation, but Nagel considered this premature (perhaps to avoid the appearance of interfering with internal political decisions).<sup>11</sup> Nagel added: “For the assistance in the administrative and counselling requirements of the above procedures I will look first to Argentina’s National Council for Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET),<sup>2</sup> for which the coordination of this relocation operation would be a natural function and may be already under way.”<sup>9</sup> This comment underestimates the contradictory position of the President of CONICET towards the events of July 29<sup>th</sup> and their consequences. **On August 2<sup>nd</sup>** Professor Bernardo Houssay<sup>12</sup> held

a meeting with Lt. General Onganía in the Government House. At the end of this meeting, Houssay declared: “I am deeply satisfied by the warranties offered by the President regarding the stability of Professors, teaching assistants, and researchers, which will not be affected by the new rules.”<sup>13</sup> It was soon evident that this assurance would not materialize. Interviews of some of the resigning professors and younger colleagues with the new FCEN authorities, who sought to convince them to withdraw their resignations, revealed that they had “black lists” of people who would be dismissed based on their political positions.<sup>14</sup>

The LASA mission travelled to Argentina on **August 8<sup>th</sup>** with members financed by the FF: History Professor John P. Harrison (University of Texas, Austin), retired History and Political Sciences Professor John Whittaker (University of Pennsylvania), and Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences George Waggoner (University of Kansas, Lawrence). Joseph Bunnett, Chemistry Professor at Brown University, a member of the delegation, was financed by the National Academy of Sciences (NAS)<sup>2</sup> in the United States.

On **August 10<sup>th</sup>** Harry H. Wilhelm (of the FF in New York)<sup>15</sup> told Nagel (then in Chile) to continue the arrangements between Argentina and Chile, with the support of Ford’s Executive Vice President, David Bell.<sup>16</sup> The Argentinian Embassy in Washington D.C. had been informed of the LASA mission and had no problem with it. Nagel responded that he thought the “LASA mission premature and politically unwise at this moment,” adding that Don Juan [perhaps Juan Gómez Millas]<sup>7</sup> and others felt the same way.<sup>17</sup> “President Frei agrees with contracting the Argentinians in both State Universities following negotiations via Gómez Millas. FF should reserve \$40,000 for salaries September to December. There will be ca. 20 researchers.” Nagel recommended “...approval subject to details on people and with understanding plans provide temporary haven and imply no additional financing. There will be more this type request example Zubieta group considering transferring to Catolica or Concepcion. [Nagel is] returning to Buenos Aires tomorrow noon, for reconference my current advisory team: Oteiza, Hardoy, Brest. Achtung” [in German in original].

Requests were made by Frank Keegan (of the FF in Mexico) and the Consejo de la Investigación Científica de México, for researchers in various fields, in some cases without names and in others with names. The feeling of a slave market or the modern “selling” of football players is unavoidable!

**August 11<sup>th</sup>**, Nagel communicated to Gómez Millas, Chilean Education Minister, the FF’s approval of \$40,000 (U.S. dollars) for “Relocation of Argentine Professors”, subject to the approval of the persons involved and with no compromise regarding a further involvement of the FF. (In October this sum would be raised to \$75,000 due to the large increase of scholars needing support; see below). Nagel would talk with the colleagues of the FCEN upon his returns to Buenos Aires that same day.<sup>18</sup>

On **August 12<sup>th</sup>**, in a personal letter to Jørgen Holmboe, a meteorology professor at UCLA, R. García explained the violent events and added: “We are trying to keep together as many teams as possible and are negotiating with Chile, Uruguay and Venezuela the possibility of working there with the assumption that, if they remain in Latin America, they will come back when the conditions are changed. This applies also to our Department of Meteorology.”<sup>19</sup>

On **August 16<sup>th</sup>**, Nagel sent CVs of the Electronic Engineering group (Zubieta and co-workers) and explained the situation of the group to the Catholic University in Santiago and University Concepcion (both in Chile) seeking help with their relocation.<sup>20</sup> Rolando García strongly supported the financing of this group, which worked in the School of Engineering.

On **August 17<sup>th</sup>**, Frank Keegan (FF Mexico) reported to Nagel about a meeting of Research Directors of Mexican academic centres, interested in receiving Argentinian scientists whom they had already contacted. The Director of the University of Monterrey said: “... Professors who were strong on student control of Universities would not be welcome in Monterrey.”<sup>21</sup>

Josef Bunnett was in Argentina from **August 17th-23<sup>rd</sup>** (LASA mission) and met with resigning and not resigning Professors, with former and acting Deans and Rectors of various Universities (Buenos Aires, Bahia Blanca), as well as with B. Houssay.<sup>12</sup> Bunnett had visited Argentina in 1960 and could assess the progress up to 1966 as well as the results of the intervention in 1966. Bunnett sent a report to the FF on **August 26<sup>th</sup>**.<sup>22</sup> Houssay requested: “the NAS should send a letter to Lt. Gral. J. C. Onganía stating: (i) Disapproval of the police violence of July 29<sup>th</sup>. It should stress the importance of respecting scientists, (ii) it should urge the Government not to accept the resignation of any of the university scientists, (iii) it should stress that academic freedom of the universities should be respected.”

None of these points were respected. It was a very naïve request both from Houssay and Bunnett. Academic freedom (in the way it was legitimated by the Law) was strongly curtailed and no signs were given by the Government to repair the damage made by the violent attacks of July 29<sup>th</sup>. Our interviews in 2015 revealed that those events were decisive for the failure to resume life as usual after July 29<sup>th</sup>.

R. García requested from NAS<sup>2</sup> (as told to Bunnett): (1) taking action regarding graduate students (Licenciados) who would be unable to pursue their graduate studies due to lack of qualified mentors. M. Sadosky (resigning vice-Dean of the FCEN, UBA) and C. Abeledo (resigning Chemistry Professor) suggested the creation of a Committee to monitor the actions supporting students (see **section 2**); (2) financing visiting Professors from the USA and/or Europe to the groups moving to other Latin American Countries, as is the case of the entire DQIAQF<sup>2</sup> moving to Santiago (García says); (3) solving the problem of ownership of equipment acquired with foreign grants: “the title of ownership should remain by the granting US organization to be easily transferred to Argentina once the political situation had improved”; and (4) financing the participation of Argentinian researchers working in other Latin American Countries in scientific meetings in the US and Europe.

On **August 19<sup>th</sup>**, Roy W. Crawley (FF Venezuela) suggested to Nagel a meeting with O.V.,<sup>2</sup> former Mathematics Professor at FCEN<sup>2</sup> and already Research Director at CENDES (Venezuela) who was spending some time in Buenos Aires. William Bowden,<sup>23</sup> of the FF office in Buenos Aires, immediately handed a letter in Spanish to O.V., offering to discuss the situation. Bowden added that the first priority of the FF was to place the resigning scholars within Argentina and, if not possible, the FF could help relocate them in other Latin American Countries. *This was obviously a first contact since Bowden did not know whether O.V. spoke English.*

On **August 19<sup>th</sup>**, Bowden answered an inquiry from Peter Fraenkel (FF Peru) about a visit to Buenos Aires from officers from the UNI<sup>2</sup> (Peru). Bowden and Nagel considered such a visit premature because the resigning people could not yet commit themselves. On **August 19<sup>th</sup>** Nagel reported to Wilhelm about the LASA mission in Argentina. They were visiting different Universities and cities: Harrison to Mendoza to observe a “loyalist” University, Waggoner to Cordoba at his request. Nagel mentioned that in those days the situation had exploded in Cordoba (in August 1966 students at Cordoba University were violently repressed by police forces, when protesting against the military intervention to the Universities), Bunnett to Bahia Blanca where he had been in the past. The FF encouraged Mallman (Bariloche Foundation) to hire resigning physicists from UBA. Nagel added, “the key man in sciences here, who should remain nameless in this memo” (Rolando Garcia is written in the FF file margin) “has decided to stay in Buenos Aires as long as possible and is in touch with us frequently for coordination.” Nagel mentioned conversations with Oteiza, Hardoy and G. Romero Brest<sup>2</sup> about the possible links of the latter two groups with the Di Tella Institute, as well as contacts with CENDES (Venezuela) and with UNI (Peru).<sup>2,24</sup>

On **August 22<sup>nd</sup> or 24<sup>th</sup>** CONICIT<sup>2</sup> (Venezuela) President Marcel Roche published an article in “El Nacional”, Caracas, entitled “Catástrofe Científica en Argentina” (Scientific Catastrophe in Argentina). A note (August 22<sup>nd</sup>) listed the possibilities in Venezuela, as explained by Roche to Crawley (FF).<sup>25</sup> Venezuela could absorb up to approximately 80 scientists, and names were given. Roche had



requested from Venezuelan President Raul Leoni 500,000 Bolivars for the support of the Argentinian immigrants. They would need FF funds for equipment.

A Venezuelan Committee for the support of the Argentinian Scientists was created on **August 22<sup>nd</sup>**, with L. Carbonell, Associate Director in IVIC (Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Cientificas); A. Carbonero, Dean, Sciences Faculty, University Central; Luis Lander, Director at CENDES; M. Valery, CORDIPLAN<sup>2</sup> Director. O.V. drove its creation and was the Secretary. The Committee held several meetings, always including a FF officer.

**August 23<sup>rd</sup>**: Bowden wrote to Nagel about his meeting with O.V.<sup>26</sup> in which the possibility of hiring roughly 40 Argentinian scholars in Venezuela was discussed. The financing and locations in Uruguay and Chile were considered.

**August 23<sup>rd</sup>**, \$500,000 was approved by FF (Wilhelm to Nagel) for the rescue operation to quickly react. Wilhelm wrote: “one should wait with future FF plans until the new Government shows positive plans for the future.”<sup>27</sup> Wilhelm explained to Alfred C. Wolf (Inter-American Development Bank) that they had reinforced the support to Hardoy (who remained with his Urbanization group in Argentina) and to the Bariloche Foundation and that “..whatever the external agencies might be able to do, I fear that our science colleagues in Argentina will have largely dispersed, perhaps for the last time for a decade or so.”<sup>28</sup>

**August 26<sup>th</sup>**, Crawley wrote to Wilhelm that O.V. returned to Caracas with a preliminary list of approximately 120 Argentinian Scientists (with hand-written remarks about where he/she could go and number of children) that could be located in key institutions in Venezuela. Twenty positions could be immediately available. \$100,000 would be needed to transport the scientists and their families.<sup>29</sup> A more complete report (Bowden to Wilhelm) of the meetings with O.V. and Luis Lander (see above) was found. They considered the creation of groups in IVIC, CENDES, CORDIPLAN, Universities, ASOVAC, to coordinate requirements with availability and clear up financial questions. The reception in Venezuela seems to have been very good. They recommended treating the research groups as

such and not as individuals, and said: “Things in Buenos Aires done in an orderly manner – central control – trying to avoid dispersion of research teams. Chile, Peru, Uruguay, Mexico and Venezuela are the target Countries.”<sup>30</sup>

**August 26th**, O.V. communicated with Crawley about the formation of the Committee (see above) and invited him to the meeting at CENDES on August 29th.<sup>31</sup> O.V. sent (**August 29th**) a letter to Deans of Colleges in Venezuela asking for available places for the Argentinians.<sup>32</sup> In the protocol of the meeting with the participation of George Sutija (of the FF in Caracas)<sup>33</sup> several issues were addressed, including visas, credits for installation, financing salaries until the end of the year for the Argentinians in some Institutions, and transport costs per family.<sup>34</sup>

These were the very first arrangements to relocate Argentinian scientists in Venezuela, and are different from the arrangements with Chile that seem to have started during the early, politically unstable months in 1966 before the military coup.

On **September 1st** Crawley (FF, Caracas) reported to Wilhelm (in N.Y., carbon copying Nagel) on the advances of the “Argentine Emergency” in Venezuela.<sup>35</sup>

The protocols of meetings of the Committee on September 6th, 9th, and 26th indicate, among other things, that the number of Argentinian scientists wishing to go to Venezuela was between 50 and 106. Crawley and Sutija (FF) participated of these meetings. It was proposed to just pay the travel costs of the scientists and, in a few cases, two months’ salaries. This prompted discussions regarding FF funds.

On **September 1st**, J.P. Harrison (Institute of Latin American studies, University of Texas), a member of the LASA mission, reported on his visit to Argentina on August 14th - 19th, 1966. He described talks with Professors, University administrators and politicians in and out of the Government, discussions with students and teachers at the beginning of July 1966 as well as during his previous visit to Argentina (at the end of 1965) not only to UBA, but also Universities in

Cordoba, Mendoza and Rosario.<sup>36</sup> Harrison noted the lack of support for the Illia Government by the population and the plan of the military under Onganía, published before the putsch in the tabloid “El Dia” in La Plata. A goal included the elimination of university autonomy and, specifically, the elimination of the students’ and graduates’ participation in the University Government bodies, as well as the intention of removing the communists from University life (whatever was included under the term “communists”).

The “El Dia” publication was discussed during the well-attended meetings held in June and July 1966 in the FCEN and played a fundamental role in the decision to sign a statement (early in July 1966) expressing that the Professors and assistants would not obey University administrators who were not elected following the legal rules established under the Constitutional Government. The resignations were consistent with that statement.

Harrison reported the dissatisfaction of many social scientists (e.g., in the Di Tella Institute) with the structure of the University Government at the National Universities before the putsch. The evaluation of the scientific achievements in the FCEN up to 1966 was very positive (in spite of being one of the more “politicised”).

The FF centralized all efforts to relocate the Argentinian scholars, and made a list of “Persons and institutions contacting Argentine ex-Professors” in Chile, Mexico, El Salvador, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela.<sup>37</sup> On September 1<sup>st</sup>, Bowden (from Buenos Aires) indicated to Keegan (of the FF in Mexico): “to mitigate disruptive competition and to plan for hardship cases, the contact should be done directly between the interested parties.” Bowden added that correspondence to a particular individual could be sent to the FF in closed envelopes for delivery by hand to the interested persons.

On **September 5<sup>th</sup>**, Fraenkel (FF Peru) wrote to Wilhelm and Nagel explaining that representatives of the UNI,<sup>2</sup> had been in Buenos Aires, and were interested in various Professors. The FF planned to reinforce its activities in Peru. The UNI would be able to hire up to 20 Argentinian scientists for a year utilizing BID<sup>2</sup> funds.

The conclusions of a confidential report sent by Nagel to Wilhelm on **September 5<sup>th</sup>** <sup>38</sup> were: “(i) the majority of full-time Professors and assistants in the Faculty of Exact and Natural Sciences have resigned. Given the unsympathetic posture of the Minister of Interior, Dr. Enrique Martínez Paz, and the other educational authorities in the Government, it appears increasingly unlikely that many of those who have resigned would reconsider and agree to return.... Even if they were to reconsider, it is not at all certain that they would be welcomed back. According to informed sources, the curricula vitae of all professors who have resigned are now being studied by the Minister of Interior, with the aid and counsel of the Servicio de Informaciones del Estado (SIDE) with a view to identifying so-called extremists and appropriately dealing with them. Rather than submit to this kind of discrimination, the overwhelming majority of the faculty's staff are now seeking employment elsewhere, principally in other Latin-American Countries” (ii) “It is difficult to see how the Government will be able to reopen the Faculty of Exact and Natural Sciences in the near future. In any case if it does reopen, it will certainly not have its former level of quality....” “The problem is amply illustrated by one specific case, namely the computer installation in the Instituto de Cálculo. The entire team ... who formerly operated the Faculty’s computer have dispersed; a significant number of them are now in, or en route to, Venezuela (iii) In the Faculty of Engineering almost the entire full-time nucleus of the Faculty has resigned. Our own specific program involvement has been.... effectively terminated, since the entire staff of the Semiconductors Laboratory is among the group leaving the faculty of Engineering.” Nagel believed that (iv) the situation in the provincial universities was less critical. But, unless the Government changed its policy, there would also be an “exodus of key scientists from the national universities of the interior, particularly from Córdoba, the Litoral and La Plata. In this connection one should note that the pattern of new appointments to rectorships and deanships --- both in the interior and at the University of Buenos Aires --- seems to suggest that the country is returning to a university system dominated by part-time professionals. On the basis of past experience it is hard to see how serious scientific research can prosper in this environment”, (v) the alternatives were few

for the resigning Professors and many were considering leaving the Country, (vi) some, very few would go into Industry, but Nagel considered that “the capacity of Argentine Industry to absorb research scientists and to use their talents effectively is limited,” and added: “The random placement of individual scientists in industry does not appear to represent an optimal return for our investment (FF) of over \$1,000,000 in the Faculty of Exact and Natural Sciences. It certainly will not contribute to training future generations of Argentinian scientists and technicians,” (vii) “for those former Profs. at the UBA wanting to remain in Argentina there appear to be only two avenues to consider: the Bariloche Foundation (they should use Grant FF 63-573, 06300573) and the Atomic Energy Commission (CNEA).”

Nagel noted that Jorge Sabato (Metallurgy, CNEA) was optimistic about the possibility of hiring resigning scientists in CNEA and had received assurances from the Government that no political discrimination would take place. In the report, Nagel devoted two paragraphs to Sabato’s group in CNEA; they would need \$100,000 per year for salaries and small equipment to hire the resigning scientists. Point (vii) in Nagel’s report was the high financial needs of the Electronic Engineering group (Zubieta, Abrales, et al.). Up to \$100,000 in equipment would be needed to relaunch the group in Chile. About \$84,000 of the FF grant (63-216, 06300216) to the UBA for this group was not yet spent, but Nagel stated that the recovery of this money would take time.

Nagel reported that Geologist Aristides Romero, Garcia’s “principal negotiator in Chile for the relocation of Professors” (according to Nagel), was designated full Professor at the UCh<sup>2</sup> as of September 1<sup>st</sup> 1966.

On **September 7<sup>th</sup>** in a letter to Hugh Hamill (Associate Dean, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Connecticut), copying Nagel and Wickham (FF Mexico), Wilhelm answered Hamill’s query about possibilities in “El Colegio” in Mexico, explaining that Nagel would centralize the relocation of Argentinian scientists in Argentina or other Countries.

The same day Nagel requested a meeting with Nicanor Costa Méndez, Argentinian Foreign Minister,<sup>39</sup> to introduce himself as a FF representative. He had already requested such a meeting twice with no success.<sup>38</sup><sup>40</sup> Nagel informed him of 45 FF grants given to Argentinian scientists in all sciences for almost nine million U.S. dollars,<sup>41</sup> from which almost two million were for CONICET, several for agricultural projects, and had financed the formation abroad of PhDs in agriculture-related areas. According to Nagel: “the goal of the FF is to retain the successful Argentinian Scientists in the Country giving them financial support.” He added that due to the later events the FF had received requests for support and they were trying to retain the scientists in Argentina or help them to go to other Latin American countries to facilitate returning in the future. Costa Méndez met with Nagel on **October 26<sup>th</sup>**.

On **September 12<sup>th</sup>**, the situation in Venezuela started to become clearer. O.V.<sup>2</sup> sent a letter to Crawley (FF Caracas) with the names of Argentinians and assured him, as a representative of the “Argentine Emergency” Committee, that all (i) had a position in Venezuela, (ii) had a working visa, (iii) were assured reception and first lodging, and (iv) had no further obligations of the FF related to this action. The biologists, physicists and mathematicians went to Universidad de Venezuela, CENDES and Corporación de Fomento. Although there were no chemists on this list,<sup>42</sup> the group of Leo Becka working on structural chemistry went to Caracas supported by the FF.

In **September 1966** two of the DQIAQF<sup>2</sup> resigning professors (Rubén Levitus and Carlos Abeledo) met in Switzerland with MIT Professor Albert Cotton. Cotton was about to visit the FCEN financed by the FF (he had already been there teaching a course; the writer of this report was one of the attending students). Levitus had met Cotton during his post-doctoral stay at Imperial College (London) in the lab of Wilkinson, who wrote a famous inorganic chemistry book together with Cotton. Levitus, a brilliant and extremely productive chemist, had translated the book to Spanish in the early 1960's. Because most of the resigning chemists of the DQIAQF<sup>2</sup> would go to Chile, Cotton recommended shifting the previously planned

FF financing for the DQIAQF to Chile, where the Argentinians and Chilean scientists could be supported.<sup>43</sup>

On **September 13<sup>th</sup>** G. Sutija (FF Caracas) communicated to Wilhelm the agreement of the Committee with the payment of flight tickets from Buenos Aires to Caracas for 47 persons (among them 19 children under 12) plus \$50 per adult, for a total cost of \$10,437.50.<sup>44</sup>

On **September 13<sup>th</sup>** an internal FF request was made for \$200,000 as “Support for relocation of Argentine University Professors.”<sup>45</sup> It estimated \$1,500 per scientist for approximately 100 scientists, plus \$50,000 for supplies. It was considered good that the relocation was to other Latin American countries “instead of going to the US or Europe; in this way return to Argentina would be possible when the situation improves.” “The FCEN was the best in South America before the intervention,” and “efforts are made to locate in the US the graduate students that could not finish their PhD work in Argentina (especially in the FCEN).” “Other grants will be offered to groups in Argentina, e.g., to CNEA, so they could receive resigning scientists.”

Bowden told Nagel (in N.Y.) on **September 14<sup>th</sup>** about his arrangements with Bruce Gibb and Barclay Hudson, both FF officers in Santiago, as well as with Rodolfo Busch,<sup>46</sup> regarding the relocation at the UCh and the Technical University in Santiago.<sup>47</sup> In view of the difficulties Busch encountered when moving with his 10 children, Nagel offered him short-term FF-financed consultancies in Latin America.

On **September 15<sup>th</sup>**, for fiscal reasons, the \$500,000 sum internally allocated for the rescue operation was divided into \$200,000 for the relocation outside Argentina and \$300,000 for direct grants in Argentina or elsewhere.<sup>48</sup>

Gibb reported to Nagel on **September 15<sup>th</sup>** about his arrangements with Gómez Millas for the “import duties for personal belongings transported to Chile by the Argentinians.”<sup>49</sup>

The first letters appear on **September 20<sup>th</sup>** about the need for FF aid to the Radioastronomical observatory (IAR, Instituto Argentino de Radioastronomía) directed by Carlos Varsavsky (C.V.),<sup>50</sup> a resigning Physics Professor at the FCEN. Wilhelm wrote to Nagel: “in view of its excellent credentials, the FF should support IAR.” The IAR construction and support was financed by CONICET, UBA, the University of La Plata (UNLP) and the Carnegie Institution through an agreement between the latter and CONICET. Soon (1967) IAR would be operating. There were plans for a 21cm antenna for the detection of interstellar hydrogen, unique in Latin America and among the ten largest in the world.<sup>51</sup>

On **September 23<sup>rd</sup>**, Nagel wrote to Wilhelm that the IAR would need at least \$31,000. C.V. requested this sum (**September 29<sup>th</sup>**) to replace the former financing by UBA (40% of the total budget), now missing after his resignation.<sup>52</sup> The other 60% in the IAR budget came from the UNLP, the Provincial Research Council (CIC) and CONICET. C.V. had been in New York discussing with Wilhelm the support to IAR. During several months (1966-67) graduate students in Physics, left with no mentors, were supported by the FF to work under C.V.’s guidance at IAR. C.V. and Wilhelm exchanged several letters, and corresponded with Nagel regarding the possibility of finding other financing sources for IAR. A very positive letter from Leo Goldberg (Harvard College Observatory) to McGeorge Bundy (FF president) supported C.V.<sup>53</sup> This documents the strong network built by the Argentinian Scientists around the world.

C.V.<sup>2</sup> was highly regarded and IAR was considered “an important scientific component of Radioastronomy in the Western Hemisphere” (Bowden to Nagel, **April 12th, 1967**). The FF granted IAR \$23,800 from FAP 06690444 in 1966. C.V. said in March 1967 that this grant had permitted him to retain at IAR approximately 25 co-workers for a year. He requested additional support.<sup>54</sup> The FF did not intend to support IAR on an annual basis and recommended C.V. get, for example, a NASA grant. Eventually, a grant from the Gillette Foundation was given to IAR. Problems related to the ownership of the equipment (UBA vs. IAR) emerged. The various Deans of the FCEN would not allow C.V. to keep the



equipment (Professor Kowalewski alleged that he needed the equipment). The FF got involved in this dispute in favour of C.V. In 1968, IAR received an additional \$7,400 from FAP 66-444 (06690444). This was the final FF support to IAR. By then the ULP<sup>2</sup> and CIC<sup>2</sup> had covered their financial needs. UBA adamantly refused to consider supporting IAR as long as C.V. was director.<sup>55</sup>

The centralisation by Nagel (FF Buenos Aires) is well documented by the above communication as well as by (i) a cable sent by Rao (N.Y.) on **September 21<sup>st</sup>** regarding the doubts of the microbiologist Raul Trucco about the relocation of his large group. Rao recommended Trucco seek Nagel's advice; (ii) Wilhelm's cable to Nagel communicating the wishes expressed by Dr. Rosenblueth from UNAM (Mexico) to hire the Mathematician Luis Santaló, the Physicists Daniel Bes and J.J. Giambiagi, and the Chemists Osvaldo Griot and Rubén Levitus.

After repeated requests from Nagel to Gómez Millas, the proposal from the Rector of the UCh for a grant of \$75,000 to finance the Argentinians' relocation was sent to the FF on September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1966. The amount was transferred on October 6<sup>th</sup> to the account of the UCh.<sup>56</sup> Starting January 1<sup>st</sup> (1967) the two universities in Santiago would take care of the salaries of the Argentinians as well as instruments and supplies. The positions were assigned for no fewer than three years, when they would be replaced by Chilean colleagues studying abroad. The groups transferring to Santiago were mostly those formerly at DQIAQF:<sup>2</sup> Inorganic Chemistry: Ruben Levitus; Structural Chemistry: Thomas Buch and Mariana Weissmann; Statistical Thermodynamics: Fortunato Danón and Leser Blum; Electrochemistry: Roberto Fernández Prini; Catalysis: Eduardo Choren and colleagues; Chemical Kinetics: Eduardo Lissi and Juan Grotewold; Nuclear Radiation (Mössbauer effect): Carlos Abeledo. There were Argentinian graduate students in all the groups. The list included a preliminary list of scientists (hand corrected) who would go to Chile; the author of this report (Silvia Braslavsky) was among them, then married to Alberto Villa (Sra. de Villa). 55 names were included; some of them did not go to Chile (e.g., the group on Plant Ecology who went to Venezuela) and some others

who did go are not on this list (e.g., Zubieta's group). No allowance would be made for equipment or consumables for research.<sup>57</sup>

The group leaders, all between 30 and 35 years old, immediately started setting up their research in Chile. Upon a recommendation by Cotton, exceptionally, Roberto Fernández-Prini received \$5,000 and Rodolfo Caneda (in an Organic Chemistry group) \$1,000 from FAP #06690444 for their research needs. There were also two Organic Chemistry groups, a Chemical Engineering, a Low-temperature, and a Semiconductor group, two groups working on Geology (directed by the prominent Senior Professors Félix González Bonorino, Amílcar Herrera and Arístides Romero) with students, one on Fish Biology led by F. García Romeu (who had resigned at the UNLP<sup>2</sup>), and one on Marine Biology. The Plant Ecology group in the list, led by Jorge Morello, eventually went to Venezuela (as is written in the margin of the microfilm document).

The Electronic Engineering group was not yet listed. On **October 10<sup>th</sup>**, Nagel met Eng. Marin on his first day as new Dean of the College of Engineering (UBA, previous vice-Dean, did not resign) and told him that the FF would not maintain the Grant FF 63-216 (FF 06300216) to the College if the group headed by Eng. Roberto Zubieta was not there. \$76,000 remained from the grant. Marin indicated that they would very much like them to return, but the group had not answered his requests for handling.<sup>58</sup>

A few days after July 29<sup>th</sup> Mario Giambiagi, Naum Fraidenraich, Luis Bassani, Ricardo Scaricabarozzi and Enrique Distefano, all physicists working in the College of Engineering, were officially denied entrance to the College. The case, presented before the Judge, offers an additional explanation to the reluctance to return to the UBA under the new authorities.

John Harrison, Director of the Institute on Latin American Studies at Texas University confidentially reported on **September 24<sup>th</sup>** about his visit to Argentina on behalf of LASA. He included his report (Sept 1<sup>st</sup> see above) and remarked:<sup>59</sup> the resigning Natural and Physical Scientists would leave Argentina

and the political approach would not be changed by the Argentinian Government. Supporting the sciences in Argentina would require patience and dedication in the next five to ten years. In the Social sciences, he recommended supporting the Di Tella Institute and IDES.<sup>2</sup> This was effectively followed by the FF in the immediate actions taken.

The transfer of \$75,000, out of the \$200,000 assigned for the “rescue” operation to go abroad, was signed on **October 16<sup>th</sup>** between the UCh (signatures: Eugenio González, UCh Rector, and Roberto D’Etigny, Dean of the College of Mathematical and Physical Sciences) and the FF (B. Gibb and R. Wickham).<sup>60</sup>

On **October 17<sup>th</sup>** Nagel answered Fraenkel (FF Peru), copying Wilhelm, posing a question about the Argentinians going to Peru. The note is entitled “Investigation of Buenos Aires Professors,” and the question is about the “ideological biases of Faculty members *vis-à-vis* their acceptability to a foreign government-supported Institution.” Nagel believed, in line with a discussion in New York with all Latin American FF officers, that the “FF should not act on this matter and the hiring Institution should make their own investigation and draw their own conclusions.” He continued, “I still felt it was important for US authorities in Chile to know what was imported and expressed this point of view to U.S. Embassy officials here. The result is that the Ambassador has requested information on these individuals from appropriate sources within the Embassy..., and then will make his own decision on what further information... should be relayed to our Embassy in Chile.”<sup>61</sup> Nagel wrote a memorandum (**October 24<sup>th</sup>**, copying Bowden) stating that Nagel, the Ambassador, a person from the Political Affaires Section, and the Scientific Attaché in the Embassy went through the names of those going to Chile, Venezuela, and Peru and found only three “activists”, i.e., individuals exercising communist activity, and others considered “theoretical Marxists.” No names were listed. The US Embassies concerned were informed, and the FF took no further action.<sup>62</sup>

Many letters were exchanged about the Argentinians that would go to Peru. On **October 28<sup>th</sup>, 1968**, David Gunn (FF Buenos Aires) sent a general balance of the

whole “rescue” operation to Nagel. Five Argentinian scientists went to the UNI<sup>2</sup> (Peru) financed by the FF. Eight more financed themselves or were financed by other sources. A few Argentinians from other Argentinian Universities were in Peru and had returned by 1968. The five financed by the FF had already left Peru in 1968.<sup>63</sup> Among them, Engineer Professor Julio Guibourg was back in Buenos Aires since August 1968 with his wife (Professor Marta García Blaya de Guibourg) and daughters. During a conversation with Gunn, Guibourg explained that most of the Professors resigning in 1966 acted impulsively, that the situation inside UBA previous to the coup demanded changes, which would have had the support of many Professors had they been introduced in a civilized manner. “What touched off the spark was the violent and entirely unorthodox methods for introducing those changes.”<sup>64</sup>

The relocation of the Electronic Engineering (Semiconductors) group from the College of Engineering was the object of numerous exchanges. Telegrams indicate visits to the group already on August 19<sup>th</sup> from the University of Concepcion and the Catholic University in Santiago (Chile), who were interested in hiring them. The financing of equipment and consumables was problematic. This group had been strongly supported by the FF before 1966 (FF 63-216, 06300216) and was highly regarded for their efficiency, technical abilities and extraordinary potential. It was an extremely productive and focused group and constituted, years later, the basis of an Argentinian technology-based industrial development in various areas (FATE electronics among others). On **October 20<sup>th</sup>**, the FF paid Hugo Venzani for a trip to Chile to explore the possibilities for the group (In Argentina so far led by Zubieta) in various Universities. Early in 1967 the group, led by Venzani, relocated in the School of Engineering (UCh) and received \$30,000 from FAP #06690444 (contract signed in January 17, 1967) as well as support from the FF grants financing the contracts between the University of California and the UCh.<sup>63</sup> The FF paid the salaries of the five members of the group for 1967 and the UCh paid them starting on January 1968. The Dean of the College of Mathematical and Physical Sciences of the UCh offered a grant of \$1.5 million (U.S. dollars) from the French Government for the instrumentation.

On **November 14<sup>th</sup>** Wickham told Rao (both at the FF in N.Y.) that he agreed with the use of previous FF grants to Venezuela for the provision of equipment to the Argentinian groups, and recommended not worrying too much about possible criticism of favouring the Argentinians.<sup>65</sup>

On **December 21<sup>st</sup>, 1966**, after much ado, Rosenbluth (Research Centre, Mexican Polytechnical Institute) requested the payment of trips for three resigning Argentinian researchers to be hired: Abraham Rachman, Noe Zwaig and Rosa Nagel de Zwaig.<sup>66</sup> On February 1967, the FF Mexican office received another request from Adolfo Grinberg (IPN, Mexico) for López Buisan with his wife and Alberto Marotto, who finally did not go to Mexico.<sup>67</sup> Thus, five resigning Argentinians went to Mexico financed by the FF.

In **January 1967** Bowden wrote to Nagel regarding several Argentinians contacted by the officers of UNI.<sup>2</sup> He repeated the general rule that FF aid was mainly for those who had resigned and were FF clients. Many of those applying to go to Peru did not comply with these conditions. A list of persons recommended and not recommended for aid was made, which was not strictly followed.

On **June 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1967**, Crawley sent Nagel a final report from the operation in Venezuela. A total of 40 scientists had been moved and 99 tickets paid. A brief comment from Cotton's visit judged the whole "rescue" operation as very positive.<sup>68</sup>

On **October 24<sup>th</sup>, 1968**, a final report of the whole operation was sent by D. Gunn to J. Nagel, but there were still questions regarding the Chilean balance. A few scholars from Universities other than UBA (Cordoba and La Plata) were also financed by the FF to go abroad.<sup>69</sup>

# FF support to graduate students left without mentoring to travel to the USA and to some post-doctoral fellows

Starting on **September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1966**, letters were sent by Harrison Brown, Foreign Secretary of the NAS, to Deans and Chancellors of Colleges and Universities in the USA (copying the FF), on behalf of students who could not continue in Argentina due to lack of good mentoring. The location was selected by each student with his mentor at UBA. Brown, writing at the request of R. Garcia, resigning Dean of the FCEN, briefly explained the events and attached a CV of the particular student and the article in *Science* about the events.<sup>70</sup> He asked about the possibility of granting a scholarship to the student; the FF would pay the one-way ticket to the US. Forty-eight letters (many in the archives at the Rockefeller Archive Center) were sent. Additionally, three graduate students already in the United States, financed by interrupted Argentinian fellowships, were supported with a year of tuition and living expenses. All of the students obtained fellowships. A few of them did not accept the offer. The FF requested a signed commitment from the students and from post-doctoral fellows (several of them in the archives) to return to Argentina after obtaining the degree, provided the political situation allowed it or, alternatively, to go to another Latin American country. In January 1969 Wilhelm (FF) asked the NAS to find out about the students' performance. The answering letters to the NAS Foreign Office requests were extremely positive, but in every case remarks were made about the bad situation in Argentina that would not encourage the candidate's return.

On **February 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1967**, and upon request by R. García, the FF approved the use of \$10,000 from FAP 66-444 for the transport of “stranded” students to the United

States to complete their graduate studies.<sup>71</sup> The number supported per area was: Physics: 17; Biology: 10; Mathematics and Informatics: 7; Geology: 5; Psychology and Psychobiology: 5; Meteorology: 2; Chemistry: 2; Architecture: 1; History: 1; Engineering: 1; Linguistics: 1. The low number of Chemists is remarkable, since they constituted the largest number of undergraduates in the FCEN. The main reasons are (i) several went to work for industry, (ii) those in the Department of Organic Chemistry could remain with their advisors since the professors in that department did not resign. They disagreed with the political orientation of Dean García, but they did participate of the modernizing changes during 1956-1966, and (iii) those in the DQIAQF went almost all with their research groups to Chile or Venezuela, where they completed their degrees, many of them by presenting their finalized PhD thesis a couple of years later at the UBA.<sup>2</sup> Several biology graduate students went with their groups to Venezuela. The social sciences students mostly remained in Argentina (Section 3).

## **The financial support of Argentinian scientists remaining in Argentina in institutions other than the University of Buenos Aires**

Nagel reported to Wilhelm on **August 19<sup>th</sup>, 1966**, that Mallman (Director of the Bariloche Foundation) should hire resigning scientists using the previous FF grants, and that Jorge E. Hardoy, Enrique Oteiza and G. Romero Brest were arranging the hiring of social scientists through the Di Tella Institute.<sup>24</sup>

On **October 14<sup>th</sup>, 1966**, a provisional internal balance says: from the \$300,000 for internal “rescue”, \$25,000 was for J. Roederer’s group (Geophysics) to maintain the group in Buenos Aires.<sup>72</sup> \$150,000 was for the Bariloche Foundation

and \$200,000 for Sabato in CNEA.<sup>73</sup> Researchers remaining in Argentina were supported several months through the Bariloche Foundation, e.g., graduate students working with J.J. Giambiagi in a private apartment in Buenos Aires and Trucco's group who finally went to the University of Cordoba.

On **October 23<sup>rd</sup>**, Nagel told Wilhelm that, if the \$200,000 committed for Sabato (CNEA) was to be charged to the \$300,000 "operation rescue" fund (for those remaining), he (Nagel) would be in trouble with the \$150,000 minimum needed to retain scientists in the Fundación Bariloche.<sup>74</sup> Wilhelm recommended distributing \$100,000 each year in 1967 and in 1968.<sup>75</sup> In **December 1966** there was a mention of J. Sabato ("our friend in the metallurgy business") in a letter from Manitzas to Rao indicating that the situation in CNEA was such that those resigning at the Universities could be received there.<sup>76</sup> Several of the resigning scientists were employed by CNEA.

Already on **August 24<sup>th</sup>, 1966**, Enrique Oteiza (Director, Di Tella Institute)<sup>77</sup> had written to Wilhelm regarding the social scientists. He agreed with Wilhelm that as many as possible should remain in Argentina. However, he pointed out that the classical antimodernizing attitude of the leading groups (now in power with the military) as well as the Catholic Church in particular, were very influential and conservative in Argentina, and remarked on the strong influence of the general position of the US Government towards Latin America. Oteiza wrote: "this will not be the last military putsch in Argentina" and "it is important to reinforce the work of 'modernizing scientists' in all areas in Argentina and enhance the 'networking' in the Country and internationally." ... "they had been working with Manitzas and Nagel on a strategic plan for social scientists remaining in Argentina." The Di Tella Institute, a very successful avant garde Centre for the Arts, had received approximately \$1,060,000 up to 1966 from the FF. The Centre was, however, closed by the Onganía Government in 1969. The Di Tella Institute and associated Foundation continued supporting arts and research in Argentina.



The FF had traditionally supported Social Sciences researchers in Argentina, such as the Sociology Professor Gino Germani, the initiator of the Sociology studies in Argentina, who had received \$200,000 from the FF before 1966 while Professor at the FFyL.<sup>2</sup> Germani resigned after the military intervention and went to Harvard University as Professor for Latin American Studies. In **September 1966**, G.R.B.,<sup>2</sup> presented a project for the creation of a Research Centre in Educational Sciences (CICE)<sup>2</sup> integrating almost all the Professors and assistants formerly in the Department of Education. Very few of them, if any, had a full-time position at the FFyL. They lived from their work in other Institution(s). After several discussions,<sup>78</sup> in **May 1967**, the FF approved \$50,000 for CICE led by G.R.B. and \$90,000 for CEUR (Centre for Urban and Regional Studies), led by Jorge E. Hardoy,<sup>79</sup> both legally attached to the Di Tella Institute (grant 67-286).<sup>80</sup> The justification reads: “The two grants now recommended are the final actions recommended by the Foundation representatives in Buenos Aires to help relocate Faculty displaced when the Onganía regime intervened in the National Argentine Universities in July 1966.” However, a second grant 67-286A to CICE for \$50,000 was approved in 1969 to “provide a working fund for contract research in Education by the Centre.” The CICE offered its services to Government offices, such as CONADE, from 1969 to 1973. In 1973 these grants were very poorly evaluated.<sup>81</sup> CEUR kept receiving support from FF through grants to the Di Tella Institute, such as FF 06800572.<sup>82</sup> On April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1968, Nagel travelled to Europe,<sup>83</sup> as representative of the FF to interview European Foundations such as Volkswagen, Thyssen and Olivetti searching for financing for CICE and CEUR.<sup>2</sup> These European Foundations had so far not supported any research activity in Argentina. Reports of the interviews are in the Ford archives.<sup>81</sup>

In a general FF report on grants to Argentina up to 1967, the “rescue” grants are listed without mention of the circumstances that made them necessary. It is specified that, starting from the Bariloche Foundation, a model institution of higher learning should be founded. In addition to the FF grants up to 1966 of \$590,000 and some additional funds in 1966 (no amount specified), in September

1966 an additional 40 man-years of Faculty salaries were granted to this Foundation.<sup>84</sup> This was obviously for the hiring of the resigning scientists.

## The secret surrounding the FF “rescue operation” (i.e., the efforts to keep the FF operation as little known as possible)

On **September 13<sup>th</sup>**, Sutija (FF Caracas) wrote to Wilhelm: “I made arrangements with Pan American that the Panam office in Buenos Aires would issue the tickets to the persons listed without naming us in any way because payment for the tickets will be made in Caracas. Officially, therefore, we are not on record as supporting this exodus to Venezuela. This does not mean, of course, that many people are not aware that the Ford Foundation is involved in this business.”<sup>44</sup>

On **November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1966**, a short note appeared simultaneously in the *New York Times* and in the *Buenos Aires Herald* (an English language Argentinian newspaper) entitled: “\$200,000 to relocate Argentine Professors.” Walter Ashley (FF Office of Reports) declared: “the funds were made available after the resignations and not before.” A Spanish translation appeared on November 2<sup>nd</sup> in *La Razón* (an evening newspaper). Nita Manitzas sent a cable to Wickham (N.Y.) on **November 6<sup>th</sup>**, strongly complaining about the public declarations and requesting consultation with the Buenos Aires office before going to the public. On **November 10<sup>th</sup>**, the ultra-nationalist publication *Azul y Blanco* (Buenos Aires) published an aggressive article accusing the FF of depleting the universities of their scholars. They spoke about the “syncretism between the communism and the yankee gold” and requested that the Ford Motor Company, in Argentina for many years, takes this matter into their own hands. On **November 15<sup>th</sup>** Manitzas sent a

note to Wilhelm and Wickham indicating that the publicity of the operation and the remark by Ashley about “the (bad) government policy in Argentina” were very unfortunate. She reported the aggressive attitude she experienced from an Argentine Colonel accusing the FF of intervening in internal policies of the Country as well as the very unpleasant attitude of the directors of Ford Motors Argentina, who visited the FF office and reported that the new Government had already suspended a multimillion dollar deal with the Company, due to the Press release.<sup>85</sup> On **November 29<sup>th</sup>** Wickham wrote to Manitzas that no publication would be made in the future without consulting first with the Buenos Aires FF office.

During 1963-1966 the convenience of accepting private grants in general, and FF grants in particular, was controversially discussed among the students, professors and in the University and Faculties Councils. The rate of acceptance of foreign grants was very low in 1966.

The above set of circumstances determined that the details of the “rescue operation” were kept as unknown as possible.

Dean R. García said during his office years: “I am criticised from the left because they *do not understand* what we do and from the right because they *do understand* what we do.”

## Conclusions

The initial exchange of cables in August 1966 suggests that previous negotiations had taken place between Dean Rolando García and several of the professors close to him, such as the Secretary of the FCEN, Geologist Arístides Romero with the Chilean Government (in particular the Minister of Education), and the FF officers (Manitzas, Nagel). It would have been very difficult, or even impossible, for a democratic government to commit themselves in only ten days to hire the large number of Argentinian researchers and offer the corresponding funds to the Universities starting January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1967. It is plausible that, given the very tense political situation in Argentina already before the coup (at the end of June 1966),

and more so during the month of July, García and several of the professors in the FCEN had used their connections to prepare a move of many groups, especially to Chile. The network operated to locate many groups in Chile and some in Venezuela in 1966-67 as well as later on, over the years, to help many scientists return to Argentina and/or collaborate with the scientific and technical developments in Argentina, whenever possible.

Several documents in the FF files indicate that many professors and assistants, and even students, at the UBA and other universities, would have accepted changes in the structure of the University Governance, had the Government respected their academic autonomy and without violence. Thus, the “Night of the Long Sticks” changed the situation and reinforced their decisions to leave positions at the UBA.

The arrangements made during the period August-September 1966 were very fluid. The resigning academic staff and graduate students were overwhelmed by the sudden change in their professional and life plans, including leaving the country with no obvious prospect for returning, in several cases with children, small or in school age. Prompt decisions often were changed. This is reflected, for example, in the difficult handling of some research groups, notably the excellent Microbiology group led by Professor Raul Trucco who, after several discussions with research centres in Venezuela that could not host his relatively large group, finally went with most of his group to the University of Cordoba in Argentina (supported at the beginning by the Bariloche Foundation, in turn financed by the FF).<sup>5</sup>

The FF officers operated with individual independence and self-assurance, and like a supra-national network at a continental level (Argentina, Chile, Peru, Venezuela, Mexico, Uruguay, New York, Caribbean, Brazil) were able to make decisions about the relocation of people and availability of funds, contact high Government officers, hire scholars as advisors (from the US and other countries), contact embassies, and communicate with each other using embassy channels. Of note is the naiveté of the FF officers and advisors, e.g., the recommendations of J. Bunnett

about the Government apologising for the events of July 29<sup>th</sup>, and the expectations of J. Nagel that scholars would go back to the University after the first stormy days.

In spite of the hard Cold War climate, no political filters were applied by the FF officers to the researchers, although investigations were made about their political “ideology.” The FF officers carefully conducted the “rescue operation” while simultaneously handling the new University administration (e.g., continuing the grant for the FCEN Library) as well as with the new Government in general (although they expressed their disagreement with the Government measures).

The analysis of the complex handlings from August to December 1966 indicates a change of strategy at the end of 1966, most likely due to a learning process, leading from an unmanageable concept of individual placements to supporting direct arrangements for groups. Driving this change was the decision to keep the integrity of the groups, but Dean García and Rodolfo Busch<sup>46</sup> were also very influential with their determination to take the entire groups abroad. The possibilities in Argentina were not good for the “modern” research groups from the FCEN with very young leaders, neither in the very under-developed Industry nor in the often very closed and antiquated structures in other Argentinian Universities (e.g., with very few or no full-time positions). This was especially true for the young groups in the DQIAQF.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the Chemistry and Geology groups of the FCEN were relocated in Chile, most of the Biologists in Venezuela and some Physicists, Engineers, and Mathematicians in Peru. Very few were relocated in Mexico and El Salvador. Several Mathematicians went to Uruguay without FF assistance.

Some of the scientists could be relocated in Argentinian institutions, such as CNEA.<sup>2</sup> The FF generously supported CNEA especially after 1966. This was and still is a very sensitive area, in view of the developments of the research leading to the use of nuclear technology for energy production as well as for medical (diagnosis and treatment) purposes. Argentina, through the advanced technology company INVAP in the Province of Rio Negro, became an exporter of nuclear

research reactors. **Unfortunately, these grant files are not located at the Rockefeller Archive Center and so could not be examined for this research.**

Several resigning scientists remaining in Argentina were supported for a limited time by FF grants to IAR<sup>2</sup> and the Bariloche Foundation. Students were helped through the FF transfer grants plus the NAS fellowships. Some of them returned to Argentina, as promised. Others became prominent scientists abroad and helped from their positions (up to the present time, 2017) science and technology developments in Argentina.

A large group of educators and social scientists were integrated on a part-time basis in CICE,<sup>2</sup> whereas a group on Urbanism and Regional Studies was integrated in CEUR,<sup>2</sup> both Centres in turn attached legally to the Di Tella Institute, supported by the FF.

As a result of the critical views in the University community of the FF grants as well as the attacks from the “anti-modernizing” forces, the operation was kept relatively secret. Many scholars (including the writer of this report) receiving flight tickets and/or payments for their relocation were not aware of the origin of the funds. It was believed that the funds originated in the respective hosting Institution or the Institute for International Education (N.Y.), although there were rumours about the FF involvement. On the verge of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the NBL,<sup>2</sup> we discovered in 2015 the files related to the FF 1966 “rescue operation.”<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Report on the visits to the Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC) on September (14th-19th) 2015 and July (11<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup>) 2016, the second time with a Grant-in-aid from the Center.

<sup>2</sup>**Abbreviations:** ASOVAC: Asociación Venezolana para el Avance de la Ciencia; BID: Inter-American Development Bank in English (IADB); Bs. As.: Buenos Aires; CENDES: Centro de Estudios del Desarrollo, Universidad Central de Venezuela; CEUR: Centro de Estudios Urbanos y Regionales (Argentina); CIC: Research Council of the Province Buenos Aires; CICE: Centro de Investigaciones en Ciencias de la Educación (Argentina); CONICET: Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (Argentina); CORDIPLAN: Oficina de Coordinación y Planificación (Venezuela); C.V.: Carlos Varsavsky; DQIAQF: Departamento de Química Inorgánica, Analítica y Química Física (FCEN, UBA); FAF: Foundation Administered Funds; FCEN: Facultad de Ciencias Exactas y Naturales; FF: Ford Foundation; FFyL: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras; G.R.B.: Gilda Romero Brest; IAR: Instituto Argentino de Radioastronomía; IDES: Instituto de Desarrollo Económico y Social (Argentina), created in 1960; IPN: Instituto Politécnico Nacional (México); IVIC: Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Científicas; Latin America: LA; LASA: Latin-America Studies Association; NAS: National Academy of Sciences (USA); NBL: Noche de los Bastones Largos; Oscar Varsavsky: O.V.; RAC: Rockefeller Archive Center; UBA: Universidad de Buenos Aires; UCh: Universidad de Chile; UN: United Nations; UNI: Universidad de Ingeniería (Peru); UNLP: Universidad Nacional de La Plata (Argentina).

<sup>3</sup> (i) Manitzas, Frank. Crackdown on Colleges-Argentina. *New Republic*. November 19<sup>th</sup>, 1966. (ii) Report on the Argentine Universities. *Bull. Atomic Scientists*.

[https://books.google.com.ar/books?id=AQcAAAAAMBAJ&pg=PA40&lpg=PA40&dq=a+report+to+the+american+academic+community+on+the+present+argentine+university+situation&source=bl&ots=wLoKlw15UO&sig=MrCHLAWgD875T\\_TlCdCJj84mgaM&hl=es&sa=X&ved=0CB8Q6AEwAGoVChMI5Z3iqbm-yAIVQhYeCh258ge3#v=onepage&q=a%20report%20to%20the%20american%20academic%20community%20on%20the%20present%20argentine%20university%20situation&false](https://books.google.com.ar/books?id=AQcAAAAAMBAJ&pg=PA40&lpg=PA40&dq=a+report+to+the+american+academic+community+on+the+present+argentine+university+situation&source=bl&ots=wLoKlw15UO&sig=MrCHLAWgD875T_TlCdCJj84mgaM&hl=es&sa=X&ved=0CB8Q6AEwAGoVChMI5Z3iqbm-yAIVQhYeCh258ge3#v=onepage&q=a%20report%20to%20the%20american%20academic%20community%20on%20the%20present%20argentine%20university%20situation&=false)

(iii) Morero, Sergio, Ariel Eidelman y Guido Lichtman. *La noche de los bastones largos*, 2nd ed. Buenos Aires: Nuevohacer Grupo Editor Latinoamericana, 2002. Collection: Colección Temas. ISBN 950-694-684-1. New Edition: EUDEBA 2016

<sup>4</sup> Slemenson, Marta. Emigración de científicos argentinos: Organización de un éxodo a América Latina. Historia y consecuencias de una crisis político-universitaria. Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, Proyecto de Investigación Inter-Centro, 1970

<sup>5</sup> "Foundation-Administered Project (FAP) (06690444): SUPPORT FOR RELOCATION OF ARGENTINE UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS, 1966 September 28-1967 September 27<sup>th</sup> as well as other documents. Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC), Sleepy Hollow, NY.

<sup>6</sup> John Nagel (1913-1994), centralized all "Rescue Activities" of Argentinian scholars, from the Buenos Aires FF office.

<sup>7</sup> While in Chile in 1960 and 1961, Rita Rous-Manitzas was an advisor for International relationships to the Rector of the UCh,<sup>2</sup> Juan Gómez Millas. She moved to Buenos Aires in 1962 with her husband Frank Manitzas, reporter in Buenos Aires for Associated Press, and joined the FF office in Buenos Aires. At the moment of the NBL (July 29<sup>th</sup>, 1966) Juan Gómez Millas had become the Minister of Education under the Chilean democratically elected President Eduardo Frei Montalva.

<sup>8</sup> August 3, 1966. R. Manitzas to Nagel, Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.

<sup>9</sup> August 4, 1966. Nagel to D. Bell, Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.



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<sup>10</sup> (a) FAP 06690444, Reel 4522, RAC; (b) Alsogaray, Alvaro C., Argentinian Ambassador at Large July-September 1966; brother of Alsogaray, Major General Julio R. (later Lieutenant General), Commander of the First Army Corps in Argentina in June 1966; Head of the Military Household; Commander-in-Chief of the Army Dec. 1966-August 1968.

<sup>11</sup> LASA was created in 1966 with Kalman Silvert as its first President; <http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/eng/>

<sup>12</sup> Nobel Laureate (1947) Professor Bernardo Houssay, President of CONICET in 1966 and its founder in 1958.

<sup>13</sup> Diario La Razón, August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1966, translation by the author.

<sup>14</sup> J.J. Giambiagi, Director of the Physics Department at the FCEN. ([http://portal.ictp.it/icts/facilities/lecture\\_rooms/AGH/giambiagi/giambiagi\\_biography](http://portal.ictp.it/icts/facilities/lecture_rooms/AGH/giambiagi/giambiagi_biography)), resigned as Professor but remained in the Directing Board of CONICET until the first months of 1968, when he resigned with a public letter to the media due to the implementation of political evaluations to enter CONICET.

<sup>15</sup> Harry E. Wilhelm, N.Y.-based Director, FF Program for Latin-America and Caribbean (1965-1970). Prior to joining the Foundation, Wilhelm held several positions in the Executive Office of the President of the United States Bureau of the Budget. In 1969, while Head of the Foundation's Latin American and Caribbean Program, Wilhelm served on evaluation committees of the Organization of American States and of the National Academy of Sciences, respectively (Ford Foundation records, LA and the Caribbean, Harry E. Wilhelm office Files (FA628))

<sup>16</sup> David Elliott Bell (Jan. 19, 1919 – Sept. 6, 2000), Director of the United States Office of Management and Budget (January 22, 1961 - December 20, 1962) under President John F. Kennedy. Kennedy named him administrator of the Agency for International Development (AID) in late 1962. He left government service in 1966 to become the Executive Vice President of the Ford Foundation. ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David\\_E.\\_Bell](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David_E._Bell))

<sup>17</sup> Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.

<sup>18</sup> Microfilm reel 4522. RAC.

<sup>19</sup> Rolando García to J. Holmboer, August 12<sup>th</sup>, 1966. Microfilm reel 4522. RAC.

<sup>20</sup> J. Nagel to Rectors of Universities in Chile seeking support for the Group on Electronics (School of Engineering) Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.

<sup>21</sup> Keegan to Nagel, Microfilm reel 3430. RAC

<sup>22</sup> J. Bunnet report August 26<sup>th</sup>, 1966. Microfilm reel 4522. RAC.

<sup>23</sup> Program Advisor of the FF for Educational Programs in Argentina, 1966

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<sup>24</sup> J. Nagel to H.E. Wilhelm letter August 19<sup>th</sup>, 1966. Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.

<sup>25</sup> Marcel Roche (President CONICIT, Venezuela) to R.W. Crawley, August 22<sup>nd</sup> or 24<sup>th</sup>. Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.

<sup>26</sup> W. Bowden to J. Nagel, August 23<sup>rd</sup>, Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.

<sup>27</sup> H.E. Wilhelm to J. Nagel. August 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1966. Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.

<sup>28</sup> H.E. Wilhelm to Wolf (Inter-Am. Dev. Bank). Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.

<sup>29</sup> R.W. Crawley to H.E. Wilhelm. August 26<sup>th</sup>, 1966. Microfilm reel 3430. RAC. The attached list is full of mistakes in the names of the Argentinian scholars.

<sup>30</sup> R.W. Crawley with O. Varsavsky and Lander. Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.

<sup>31</sup> O.V. to R.W. Crawley. August 29<sup>th</sup>, 1966. Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.

<sup>32</sup> O. Varsavsky to Deans. Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.

<sup>33</sup> George Sutija, FF officer and project administrator in Latin America. Later Professor of Economy, Univ. Florida.

<sup>34</sup> September 6<sup>th</sup>. Meeting of the Venezuelan Committee "Argentine Emergency." Microfilm reel 3430. RAC



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- <sup>35</sup> R.W. Crawley to H.E. Wilhelm (cc Nagel), September 1<sup>st</sup>. Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.
- <sup>36</sup> J. Harrison report. September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1966. Microfilm reel 4522. RAC.
- <sup>37</sup> W.L. Bowden to F.L. Keegan, List of Academics Contacting Argentinians. September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1966, Microfilm reel E512. RAC.
- <sup>38</sup> J. Nagel to H.E. Wilhelm, Sept 5<sup>th</sup>, 1966. Microfilm reel 4522. RAC.
- <sup>39</sup> Nicanor Costa Méndez, a civilian Diplomat, served as Foreign Minister for putschist President Lt. Gen. Onganía from 1966 to 1969. Was again Foreign Minister under the Dictator Gen. Galtieri in 1981.
- <sup>40</sup> Letter J. Nagel to Costa Méndez. September 7<sup>th</sup>, FF\_CataloguedReport\_B336\_R7818. RAC.
- <sup>41</sup> 1 US dollar 1966 would be approximately 8 US dollars in 2017 in the USA.
- <sup>42</sup> List of Argentinians that would go to Venezuela sent by Oscar Varsavsky to R.W. Crawley (Venezuela). September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1966. Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.
- <sup>43</sup> Letter A. Cotton to FF. Sept 12<sup>th</sup>, 1966. Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.
- <sup>44</sup> G. Sutija to Harry Wilhelm. Microfilm reels 4522 and 3430. RAC.
- <sup>45</sup> September 13<sup>th</sup>, 1966. Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.
- <sup>46</sup> Rodolfo Busch (1914 - 1980) was, from 1957 to 1966, Director of the DQIAQF<sup>2</sup> in the FCEN<sup>2</sup>. In a Department without a research culture and totally out of date, he created various research groups in a variety of areas (Inorganic Chemistry, Chemical Kinetics, Electrochemistry, Structural and Theoretical Chemistry and studies on polyelectrolites) by sending young Argentinian chemists to obtain their PhDs in a short time to the best labs in the US, Great Britain, France, Czechoslovakia, etc. Upon return the young doctors became assistant Professors and could create their own research groups. The Department acquired a great dynamism with intense participation of the students and researchers. This resulted in interesting publications as well as in practical applications. Several renowned scientists visited the DQIAQF to offer courses and participate in seminars with the students. Basic modern equipment was bought with the support of CONICET and the FF. Busch also participated in the design of the new labs to be built in the new University City and was engaged in the development of research groups in the Argentinian Provinces. He invited advanced students from the Provinces to spend several months working with the young groups at the FCEN. Busch was beaten and taken into custody after the “Night of the Long Sticks.” He worked as consultant in Venezuela (1967 - 1969) and in Chile (1972,3), where he was taken to jail after the putsch in September 1973. He tragically died in 1980 in a Buenos Aires street due to police aggression.
- <sup>47</sup> W. Bowden to J. Nagel, Sept 14<sup>th</sup>, 1966. Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.
- <sup>48</sup> Wilhelm to Nagel. Sept 15<sup>th</sup>. Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.
- <sup>49</sup> Gibb to Nagel. Sept 15<sup>th</sup>. Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.
- <sup>50</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos\\_Varsavsky](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos_Varsavsky). Carlos Varsavsky remained in Argentina after 1966 and in 1969 became Director of Research and Development of FATE, an Enterprise with Argentinian capital devoted to produce electronic equipment, including computers. In 1977, he emigrated to the US, after his nephew had been kidnapped by paramilitary forces.
- <sup>51</sup> Regarding IAR (Carlos Varsavsky). Microfilm reels 4522 and 3430. RAC.
- <sup>52</sup> Request by Nagel for support for IAR. Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.
- <sup>53</sup> Support for IAR from Leo Goldberg, Harvard College Observatory, October 13<sup>th</sup>, 1966, Microfilm reel 4522. RAC.
- <sup>54</sup> Report on C.V. visit to FF in N.Y., March 6, 1966, Microfilm reel 4522
- <sup>55</sup> J. Nagel to H. E. Wilhelm, Re: IAR, Sept 5<sup>th</sup>, 1968. Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.
- <sup>56</sup> Copy of request of the University of Chile to the FF of \$75,000. Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.
- <sup>57</sup> There were exceptions to this rule.

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- <sup>58</sup> Report of Meeting Nagel-Dean Marin- Confidential letters: Box 336, Folder 007818. RAC.
- <sup>59</sup> Letter from J. Harrison to Wilhelm (FF), Sept 24<sup>th</sup>, 1966. Microfilm reel 4522. RAC.
- <sup>60</sup> Contract FF-UCh. Microfilm reel 4522. RAC.
- <sup>61</sup> J. Nagel to P. Fraenkel, October 17<sup>th</sup>, 1966, on “ideological biases of Faculty members.” Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.
- <sup>62</sup> J. Nagel memo to files. October 24<sup>th</sup>, 1966. Microfilm reel 3430. RAC. Re: political activity of Argentinian emigrating.
- <sup>63</sup> D. Gunn to J. Nagel, October 24<sup>th</sup>, 1968. Intermediate balance of FAP-66-444. Microfilm reel E512. RAC.
- <sup>64</sup> Julio Guibourg was, since 1969, the founding Director of the Computer Centre at the ORT School in Buenos Aires and in 1984, Dean of the College of Engineering (UBA) after the recovery of Democratic rules in Argentina.
- <sup>65</sup> Wickham to Rao, Nov. 14<sup>th</sup>, 1966. Microfilm reel 4522. RAC.
- <sup>66</sup> Keegan (FF Mexico) to Manitzas, pedido de Rosenbluth (Mexico). Dec. 21<sup>st</sup>, 1966. Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.
- <sup>67</sup> E. Bergmann to J. Nagel, May 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1967. Microfilm reel 3430. RAC.
- <sup>68</sup> Crawley to Nagel June 22, 1967, includes Cotton comments. Microfilm reel 4522. RAC.
- <sup>69</sup> D. Gunn to J. Nagel, October 24<sup>th</sup>, 1968. Microfilm reel E-52, also 4522. RAC.
- <sup>70</sup> Langer, E., Argentina: seizure of universities leaves intellectual casualties. *Science*, **153**, issue 3742, 1362-4 (1966).
- <sup>71</sup> (a) Approval of \$10,000 for the transport of graduate students, Microfilm reel 4522 and 3430 (b) J. Nagel to H. E. Wilhelm, January 13, 1966. Microfilm Reel 3430. RAC.
- <sup>72</sup> In March 1967 J. Roederer accepted a position as Professor and Director of the Centre for the Study of Planetary Radiation Environment at the University of Denver, Colorado, and his two co-workers entered CNEA.
- <sup>73</sup> Preliminary general financial balance. October 14<sup>th</sup>, 1966. Microfilm Reel 3430. RAC.
- <sup>74</sup> J. Nagel to H. E. Wilhelm Oct 24<sup>th</sup>, 1966. Microfilm reel 4522. RAC.
- <sup>75</sup> Answer H. E. Wilhelm to J. Nagel, no date. Microfilm reel 4522. RAC.
- <sup>76</sup> Manitzas to Rao. November 7<sup>th</sup>, 1966. “Our friend in the metallurgy business” is Jorge Sabato. Microfilm reel 3430. RAC. Although the file cards on grants to Sabato in CNEA are in the RAC and mention is made in many reports, the files related to those grants before and after 1966 could not be found.
- <sup>77</sup> Enrique Oteiza, first Director of Instituto Di Tella (1960-70). Participated in the creation of Fundación Bariloche.
- <sup>78</sup> Microfilm Reel 3432. RAC.
- <sup>79</sup> Enrique Jorge Hardoy, Master in Urban and Regional Planning from Harvard University, resigned in 1966 as Professor from the School of Architecture (UBA).
- <sup>80</sup> Microfilm reel 3432. Request (OD-1932) for Grant FF-67-286 for the creation of CICE and CEUR. RAC.
- <sup>81</sup> K. N. Rao to W. Charmichael. April 12, 1973. Microfilm Reel 3432. RAC.
- <sup>82</sup> Microfilm Reel 3433. RAC.
- <sup>83</sup> Letter J. Nagel to R. Manitzas, March 14<sup>th</sup>, 1968, about trip to Europe for Funding for CICE. Microfilm reel 3433. RAC.
- <sup>84</sup> 20151014\_171746\_FF\_B46\_F8.pdf, Collection FA568, Box 46, Folder 8. RAC.
- <sup>85</sup> R. Manitzas to FF, Nov. 16, 1966. Microfilm reel 4522. RAC.
- <sup>86</sup> I very deeply thank the help from Lucas Buresch from the RAC who upon my query offered me the files and all records related to the “rescue operation.” I am also very thankful for the Grant-in-aid from the Rockefeller Archive Center as well as for the help from Margaret Hogan during my second visit to the Rockefeller Archive Center, during which I studied the part of the grants dedicated to those who remained in Argentina.